

Message Text

SECRET

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S E C R E T STATE 026829

EXDIS DISTRIBUTE AS NODIS FOR DR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT TEL AVIV 1494 ACTION STATE INFO BEIRUT CAIRO
DAMASCUS JIDDA FEB 1.

QUOTE S E C R E T TEL AVIV 1494

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FOR THE SECRETARY AND SAUNDERS FROM LEWIS

CAIRO FOR AMBASSADOR AND FOR ATHERTON

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, XF, US
SUBJECT: REPORT ON JANUARY 28 NEAR EAST CHIEFS OF MISSION
CONFERENCE -- PEACE PROCESS

REF: JERUSALEM 0258 (STATE 024718)

1. ROY ATHERTON'S REPORT ON OUR CHIEFS OF MISSION
CONFERENCE IS BOTH ACCURATE AND COMPREHENSIVE. IT
GIVES OUR VIEWS AND CONCLUSIONS QUITE ACCURATELY FROM
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MY PERSPECTIVE.

2. THERE IS ONLY ONE POINT I WOULD LIKE TO AMPLIFY.
IN PARA EIGHT OF REFTEL THERE IS A DISCUSSION OF THE
PROBLEM OF HOW ONE APPLIES PRESSURE SUCCESSFULLY ON
THE ISRAELIS AND IN PARTICULAR ON PRIME MINISTER BEGIN.
SUBPARAGRAPH C OF THAT PARA DOES NOT DO ANY VIOLENCE

TO WHAT I SAID, BUT IT LEAVES OUT ANOTHER THOUGHT WHICH I BELIEVE IS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT. FROM OBSERVING BEGIN'S REACTIONS IN RECENT WEEKS, I HAVE BECOME MORE AND MORE CONVINCED THAT THE MOST EFFECTIVE PRESSURE ON HIM IS HIS OWN INTERNAL PRECEPTION OF WHAT HE MUST DO TO MEET SADAT'S MINIMUM CONDITIONS. WHEN THE U.S. XPRESSES ITS DISPLEASURE WITH HIS ACTIONS, HE WORRIES VERY MUCH ABOUT HIS PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRESIDENT. BUT HE ASSUMES ALMOST UNCONSCIOUSLY THAT THERE ARE WAYS TO INFLUENCE THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, CONGRESS AND PUBLIC WHICH PROVIDE SOME EFFECTIVE COUNTERMEASURES FOR THE U.S. PRESSURE. ON THE OTHER HAND, WHEN HE BECOMES CONVINCED THAT HE MIGHT RISK LOSING THE CHANCE FOR PEACE WITH SADAT BECAUSE HE IS NOT MEETING SADAT'S MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS, HE HAS NO COMPARABLE CARDS TO PLAY TO COUNTER THIS EGYPTIAN PRESSURE. THIS IS NOT TO ARGUE THAT U.S. PRESSURE IS NOT AT SELECTED MOMENTS AND ON SELECTED ISSUES A VERY IMPORTANT COMPONENT IN HIS EQUATION. BUT WE SHOULD I THINK RECOGNIZE THAT THE ULTIMATE ISRAELI CALCULUS HERE RELATES TO WHAT HAS TO BE DONE TO MAKE PEACE WITH THE ARABS, AND PARTICULARLY THE ONE ARAB LEADER WHO HAS PERSUASIVELY DEMONSTRATED THAT HE INDEED IS PREPARED FOR PEACE. LEWIS UNQUOTE VANCE

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